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special rates.

THE LIBERATOR
VOL. XX.
NEW LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT.
From time to time, a new and powerful impulse
is given to the anti-slavery movement, and the
abolitionists are enabled to do more for the
slave than ever before.

The abolitionists are not only doing more for the
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freedom of the world.

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THE LIBERATOR

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1839.

POLITICAL.

'MORAL RULE OF POLITICAL ACTION'.
Extracts from 'A Discourse delivered in Hollis-
street Church, Sunday, January 27, 1839. By John
Pierpont. Boston—Published by Jas. Munroe & Co.'

The celebrated Mirabeau—celebrated alike for his
talents and his vices—in an essay in favor of removing
from Jews the civil disabilities under which they have
suffered through almost all christianized nations, arguing
that it were better to bind them to the state by the ties
of gratitude, than to weaken them as members of it, by
withholding from them powers which were granted to
all Christians, very sagaciously remarks, 'for the Jew,
after all, is more a man than he is a Jew.' He is united
to society, that is, by more sympathies and interests
on the ground of a common nature, than he is separated
from it, or alien to it, on the ground of a peculiar
faith.

So, inasmuch as all the members of every civil com-
munity hold common relations to God, which relations
are earlier, closer, and more enduring than are any
that, as fellow-citizens, they can hold to each other;
as the duties, consequently, that result from their re-
lations to him are paramount to all that can result from
their relations to each other, as members of a body
politic,—with the same truth, if not with the same pit
point that belong to the remark of Mirabeau, we may
say that every man, according to his nature, is more
a moral man, than he is a political man. According
to his nature, that is, as a creature of God, and a sub-
ject of his moral government, his allegiance to God is
prior to any, and stronger than any allegiance that he
can owe to any human government; and consequently,
when the laws of men come into collision with the
laws of God, the latter must be obeyed.

It is already been remarked that this great moral
principle can be practically applied to politics, and that
the voice of God, where man enjoins what God for-
bids, or forbids what God requires; where the human
law is in conflict with the divine; where a lower good
is sought at the expense of a higher; where politics
and morality are at issue; where there is a conflict
between these, in obeying either, the other is obeyed.
'We ought to obey God rather than men.'

This moral principle or rule of political action, I
propose to apply to some of the questions of the past
and present political interests or parties of this country,
wishing it to be understood, however, that in this I
make myself, not a partisan, but a friend to truth and
justice, and to the best interests of the people.

1. I pass no judgment upon either; but use, in relation to each, what I suppose will
be the least offensive names, as descriptive terms.
The case, then, is, whether we should divide our
party, and which, to avoid all odious party names,
I will describe as the administration and the opposi-
tion parties. Here, I suppose myself with the adminis-
tration; but the questions which are the most contro-
verted, and the most deeply interesting, are those be-
tween my party and the opposition? So far as I am
informed, they are questions relating to the pecuniary
interests of the nation,—and of no trifling importance.

2. The words of the wise are as guards.—They
are as sharp thorns in the sides of the wicked, and
his neck under the yoke, and pulls out of the right
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than oil, and his path is as a straight way.

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shelter him from what he considers the more formidable
attack of the other party. No. 5 was compounded
and prescribed by an infallible physician, for this
symptom. Where the life-blood and the heart-strings
are in sound and healthy state, the plaster was
never known to do more than to soothe the patient.

1st Case. The patient is very pale in his prayers
for the poor slave. At the monthly convocation, he en-
croaches almost the whole time. The tears roll down
his cheeks, while he prays that the yoke may be broken.
Between prayers he becomes fervid in pouring
out his indignation against wicked rulers. He bows
down again, and prays fervently for wise and good
men to rule over us.—He goes out and exerts all his
influence against any consistent political action in
favor of the slave! He does what he can to prevent
the nomination of such a candidate as he has been
praying for—and when opportunity offers, does what
he can to secure the election of one whom no prayers
or entreaties can move to give even a promise that
he will advocate the immediate emancipation of the
slave. An application of No. 12 and 13 will be
sensible in most cases as it should be followed up
by No. 1 and No. 11.

2d Case. The patient has been, while in health, a
very active and zealous advocate of the pledge of
political abstinence. But during the prevalent epi-
demic, his optics have become dim. It takes him
three whole days to find out whether or no a claim
made for the poor slave is a claim for the poor
man. He does not mean a solemn promise to 'advocate
immediate emancipation.' He goes backward and
forward—to this interpreter and to that—catches
the writer of the doubtful document—and after all,
he is left in the lurch. He is obliged to say, 'I have
not said a word of the kind.' No. 14 should
never be omitted, in addition. But for the restora-
tion of the eyesight, a prompt use of No. 6 and No. 7
must be resorted to. And be careful not to spread
the disease of political abstinence, which is now
not needed, and over which too many bandages of
sophistry have been collected already.—But place
the proper touch of the nerves leading from the
heart to the optic nerve, and the patient will see clear-
ly enough, even through all the bandages of partisan
newspapers and evasive answers.

3d Case. The same as the fifth, with alarming
symptoms of obstinacy and mysterious duality of per-
son. While in apparent health, he may have been
loud and flippant against half-witted men and measures
—none but the most ultra and unprincipled candi-
date for the office of Governor. He is now, however,
in a low state of mind, and is unable to see his
way out of the difficulty. He is obliged to say, 'I have
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man. He does not mean a solemn promise to 'advocate
immediate emancipation.' He goes backward and
forward—to this interpreter and to that—catches
the writer of the doubtful document—and after all,
he is left in the lurch. He is obliged to say, 'I have
not said a word of the kind.' No. 14 should
never be omitted, in addition. But for the restora-
tion of the eyesight, a prompt use of No. 6 and No. 7
must be resorted to. And be careful not to spread
the disease of political abstinence, which is now
not needed, and over which too many bandages of
sophistry have been collected already.—But place
the proper touch of the nerves leading from the
heart to the optic nerve, and the patient will see clear-
ly enough, even through all the bandages of partisan
newspapers and evasive answers.

18th Case. The patient is very pale in his prayers
for the poor slave. At the monthly convocation, he en-
croaches almost the whole time. The tears roll down
his cheeks, while he prays that the yoke may be broken.
Between prayers he becomes fervid in pouring
out his indignation against wicked rulers. He bows
down again, and prays fervently for wise and good
men to rule over us.—He goes out and exerts all his
influence against any consistent political action in
favor of the slave! He does what he can to prevent
the nomination of such a candidate as he has been
praying for—and when opportunity offers, does what
he can to secure the election of one whom no prayers
or entreaties can move to give even a promise that
he will advocate the immediate emancipation of the
slave. An application of No. 12 and 13 will be
sensible in most cases as it should be followed up
by No. 1 and No. 11.

19th Case. The patient has been, while in health, a
very active and zealous advocate of the pledge of
political abstinence. But during the prevalent epi-
demic, his optics have become dim. It takes him
three whole days to find out whether or no a claim
made for the poor slave is a claim for the poor
man. He does not mean a solemn promise to 'advocate
immediate emancipation.' He goes backward and
forward—to this interpreter and to that—catches
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sophistry have been collected already.—But place
the proper touch of the nerves leading from the
heart to the optic nerve, and the patient will see clear-
ly enough, even through all the bandages of partisan
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20th Case. The patient is very pale in his prayers
for the poor slave. At the monthly convocation, he en-
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out his indignation against wicked rulers. He bows
down again, and prays fervently for wise and good
men to rule over us.—He goes out and exerts all his
influence against any consistent political action in
favor of the slave! He does what he can to prevent
the nomination of such a candidate as he has been
praying for—and when opportunity offers, does what
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he will advocate the immediate emancipation of the
slave. An application of No. 12 and 13 will be
sensible in most cases as it should be followed up
by No. 1 and No. 11.

21st Case. The patient has been, while in health, a
very active and zealous advocate of the pledge of
political abstinence. But during the prevalent epi-
demic, his optics have become dim. It takes him
three whole days to find out whether or no a claim
made for the poor slave is a claim for the poor
man. He does not mean a solemn promise to 'advocate
immediate emancipation.' He goes backward and
forward—to this interpreter and to that—catches
the writer of the doubtful document—and after all,
he is left in the lurch. He is obliged to say, 'I have
not said a word of the kind.' No. 14 should
never be omitted, in addition. But for the restora-
tion of the eyesight, a prompt use of No. 6 and No. 7
must be resorted to. And be careful not to spread
the disease of political abstinence, which is now
not needed, and over which too many bandages of
sophistry have been collected already.—But place
the proper touch of the nerves leading from the
heart to the optic nerve, and the patient will see clear-
ly enough, even through all the bandages of partisan
newspapers and evasive answers.

22nd Case. The patient is very pale in his prayers
for the poor slave. At the

ON THE DEATH OF A SISTER.

BY CHARLES SPRAGUE.

I knew that me must part; day after day,
I saw the dread Destroyer with his way.
That hollow creak first rang the fatal knell,
As on my ear its prophetic warning fell.
Feeble and slow the once light footstep grew,
Thy waning cheek put on death's pallid hue,
Thy thin, hot hand to mine more weakly clung,
Each sweet "Good night" fell fainter from thy tongue.
I knew that me must part—no power could save
Thy quiet goodness from an early grave:
Those eyes so dull, though kind each glance they cast,
Looking a sister's fondness to the last;
Thy lips so pale, that gently pressed my cheek;
Thy voice—alas! thou couldst but try to speak;
All told thy doom, I felt it at my heart,
The shaft had struck—I knew that me must part.

And we have parted, Mary—thou art gone!
Gone in this innocence, meek-suffering one.
Thy weary spirit breathed itself to sleep,
So peacefully, it seemed a sin to weep,
In those fond watchers who around thee stood,
And felt, even then, that God was greatly good.
Like stars that struggle through the clouds of night,
Thine eyes one moment caught a glorious light,
As if to thee, in that dread hour, 'twere given
To know on earth what faith believes of Heaven;
Then like tired breezes didst thou sink to rest,
Nor one, one pang the awful change confessed.
Death stole in softness o'er that lovely face,
On touched each feature with a new-born grace;
And cheek and brow unearthly beauty lay,
And told that life's poor cares had passed away.
In my last hour be Heaven so kind to me,
I ask no more than this—to die like thee.

But we have parted, Mary—thou art dead!
On its last resting-place I laid thy head,
Then by the coffin-side I knelt down, and took
A brother's farewell kiss and farewell look.
Those marble lips no kinder kiss returned;
From those veiled orbs no glance responsive burned;
Ah! then I felt that thou hadst passed away,
That the sweet face I gazed on was but clay;
And then came Memory, with her busy throng
Of tender images, forgotten long;
Years hurried back, and as they swiftly rolled,
I saw thee—heard thee, as in days of old;
Sad and more sad each sacred feeling grew,
Manhood was moved, and sorrow claimed her due;
Thick, thick and fast the burning tears-drops started,
I turned away—and felt that we had parted.

But not for ever—in the silent tomb,
Where thou art laid, thy kindred shall find room;
A little while—a few short years of pain,
And one day, we'll come to thee again.
The kind old Father shall seek out the place,
And rest with thee, the youngest of his race;
The dear, dear Mother—bent with age and grief—
Shall lay her head by thine, in sweet relief;
Sister and Brother, and that faithful Friend—
True from the first and tender to the end—
All, all, in His good time—who placed us here,
To live, to love, to die and disappear—
Shall come and make their quiet bed with thee,
Beneath the shadow of that spreading tree.
With thee to sleep, through death's long dreamless night,
With thee rise up, and bless the morning light.

From the Williamsport, Pa., Luminary.

The following verses were handed to us for publication, by a friend, who states that they have been written by a colored boy, sometime after the death of his mother. To say the least of them, they are certainly very pathetic.

OH, WHEN WILL MY MOTHER COME?

Oh, when will my mother come?
Oh, when will she come?
With sweetest wings time's flying on,
And still she is away;
Oh, that I could see one employ
Again to bring her home:
I would, but can't such thoughts enjoy—
When will my mother come?

That form, so lovely once to me,
So pleasing to my sight,
The pleasure of my infancy,
Of childhood my delight,
Is gone, and who can tell me where?
Not one on earth, no none
Can tell me whether to repair
For her—when will she come?

I have been absent—been away,
For weeks and months or more—
On my return she'd to me say,
Your absence grieved me sore.
I've again can't her embrace,
Though all o'er earth I roam;
No, never, never see that face—
When will my mother come?

On that great day, when time shall end
All things on earth below,
And the great Jesus shall angels send
To call us all to go—
When saints shall sing that holy psalm,
O, hallelujah to the Lamb—
Then shall my mother come!

Then, since she is forever gone
To Heaven, where pleasures are,
Let me prepare to sing that song
With her forever there;
And when all troubles are ended here,
And all life's cares are done,
On that last day, Lord, let my prayer
Be, "Father, now I come!"

C. S. B.

LA MORTE D'UGOLINO.

FROM THE ITALIAN OF DANTE.

Quando fu desto innanzi in dimane,
Ere dawn, awake upon my dungeon bed,
I heard my children in their troubled sleep
Murmuring and weeping, and demanding bread.
Oh! thou art cruel! if thou canst not weep
To ponder o'er my suffering in the dread
Foreboding of my heart; if thou canst keep
Thine own unmoved, what tale of passing woe
Can move thy sighs, or make thy tears to flow!

They soon awake; and it was now the hour
Which brought us our accustomed food, and we
Doubted and feared, and moved the moments slower;
But yet it came not; and we heard a cry
Looking the portal of our prison tower:
I looked upon my children, and on me
They looked again; and then my heart grew weak,
And I sat motionless, but could not speak.

I did not weep; my heart was turned to stone;
My children wept—and little Anselm cried,
"What alas, father!—for thy look is grown
So ghastly, fixed on something at thy side."
Then did I feign to suffer less; no more
Passed from my lips, and nothing I replied
All that long day and the succeeding night,
Till o'er the world arose the morning's light.

When the first rays streamed from the outer air
Amid my dungeon's dreary gloom, and I
Saw my own face in four pale aspects there,
I gnawed my arms in utter agony!
My children rose, and deemed that my despair
Commanded rage, and said: "Let us die,
That thou may'st live; thou gavest us flesh and blood,
Take them again, and let them be thy food."

Then I grew calm, to make their sorrows less,
And that day and the next in silence past;
Why yawned not the earth beneath our dire distress?
And the fourth day arose, and then, at last,
Gaddo, my boy, lay pale and motionless
On the cold stone, beside my feet, and cast
His eyes upon my face, and faintly cried:
"I'm dying, father, help me," and he died.

And as thou seest me, so did I behold,
Upon the fifth and sixth days, one by one,
My murdered children perish; stark and cold:
And sinking on them when their life was gone,
Calling their cherished names, I did unfold
In my weak arms their wasted bodies wane,
For three days more; then hunger came to close
All of my life that could survive my woes.

NON-RESISTANCE.

BIBLE ARGUMENT FOR NON-RESISTANCE. No. III.

Daniel 4. 17. The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

In previous numbers, I have noticed the argument against human governments drawn from the divine protest against the choice of such government by the people of Israel; cited several classes of proof texts which appear to prohibit the fundamental policy and measures of such governments; considered the intrinsic propriety and fitness of leaving the penal power in the hands of God alone, (to whom vengeance belongs); and noticed the objections founded upon Gen. 9. 6, and upon the penal features of the Mosaic code. I will now consider several objections against Non-Resistance founded upon particular passages in the New Testament.

1 Peter 2. 13. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king. Servants be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is just, if a man for conscience towards God endure grief, suffering wrongfully.

One thing is certain: these divine precepts are either directly against the scheme of Non-Resistance, or decidedly for it. If we take them in the former sense, they prove too much, unless we presumptuously 'add unto' them, and become obnoxious to the threatening at the end of the bible. Our opponents, who cherish the popular maxim, that 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,' in order to claim these passages, must then to enjoin submission and obedience only to every just and equitable ordinance of man. But this construction is directly and expressly forbidden by the concluding passages.

Let us now contemplate these passages as enjoining the non-resistance principles, and they require no addition, no forcible construction. These Christians, though free from the bondage to human governments by the consciences of the unenlightened heathen subjected them, and acknowledging no other Master but Christ, were living under the assumed government of some 'king as supreme,' or of some 'governors sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.'—i. e. to punish transgressors of human statutes, and praise those who obey them. And though these kings and governors might have been Nero, tyrants, and 'the basest of men,' yet the apostle expressly enjoins submission to every one of their ordinances, all of which were enforced by the sword. He forbids Christians to 'use their liberty as a cloak of maliciousness'—i. e. in returning evil for evil—but as servants of Christ, who said, 'Resist not evil.'

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The following verses were handed to us for publication, by a friend, who states that they have been written by a colored boy, sometime after the death of his mother. To say the least of them, they are certainly very pathetic.

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With sweetest wings time's flying on,
And still she is away;
Oh, that I could see one employ
Again to bring her home:
I would, but can't such thoughts enjoy—
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That form, so lovely once to me,
So pleasing to my sight,
The pleasure of my infancy,
Of childhood my delight,
Is gone, and who can tell me where?
Not one on earth, no none
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Your absence grieved me sore.
I've again can't her embrace,
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On that great day, when time shall end
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To call us all to go—
When saints shall sing that holy psalm,
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Then, since she is forever gone
To Heaven, where pleasures are,
Let me prepare to sing that song
With her forever there;
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And that day and the next in silence past;
Why yawned not the earth beneath our dire distress?
And the fourth day arose, and then, at last,
Gaddo, my boy, lay pale and motionless
On the cold stone, beside my feet, and cast
His eyes upon my face, and faintly cried:
"I'm dying, father, help me," and he died.

his purposes of judgment, correction, and chastisement, the passage would be a plain and pertinent proof-text, not in favor of human government, but of non-resistance. The duty of passive submission to injuries and tyrants, involves the higher duty of active submission and obedience to God, who, in a scriptural and important sense, employs them as his scourge, or instrument of chastisement, judgment and correction. Hence said David respecting Shimei, 'Let him alone, and let him curse; for the Lord hath bidden him.'

Verse 3. 'For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.'

If we should suppose that the apostle intended in this verse, to represent the civil rulers of his day to be in favor of pure and undefiled religion, who contemned and praised the truly righteous, it would be difficult to reconcile the passage with truth and facts. We are told, (Acts 4. 5.) that the rulers, and elders, and scribes, and Annas the high priest, were gathered together. 'And they called them, (the apostles), and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said unto them, 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.' It was on this occasion that the apostles referred to the prediction of David: 'Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ.' Had the apostle spoken in favor of human governments and civil rulers, we should naturally suppose that he would have been more guarded in his expressions, and made a distinction between just and unjust rulers. Let us now inquire if there is no other pertinent sense in which to understand the passage, which better accords with truth. We have conclusive evidence that the civil rulers then upon the throne of the Caesars were 'the basest of men,' and were, in fact, as one writer expresses it, 'the scourge of God, and the terror of the world.' They were oppressors of Christ and his faithful servants, though, in a scriptural and important sense, they were ordained and employed by God as his scourge to chastise and correct the transgressors of his law. In this sense, as the instruments of God's vengeance, they were indeed 'a terror to the evil,' but not a terror to the good. Says the Psalmist, (Ps. 91. 2.) 'I will say to the Lord, He is my refuge, and my fortress; my God in whom I will trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee.' Again, 'Whoso putteth his trust in the Lord shall be safe.' Let any person habitually and consistently trust in and obey God, and he will not be terrified by any of God's ministers of vengeance. Besides, such a course will, sooner or later, gain the inward esteem and praise even of the wicked. Saul was constrained to praise David. Pharaoh was constrained to praise Moses. Let any one practise non-resistance, kindness, and passive obedience towards even tyrants, while others take up the sword, and he will be likely to 'have praise of the same' for his obedience.

This view of the passage gives it a pertinent meaning, that accords with truth, with the previous passages in its connection, and with

Verse 4. 'For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, he is afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.'

To suppose that the apostle meant, in this passage, to approve of human governments, and civil rulers who sustain their authority with the sword, is a view of the passage which is attended with many objections. If this was his meaning, why did he not make a difference between just and unjust civil rulers, and right and wrong systems of civil government? This view of the passage would seem to clash with the many plain and explicit precepts which enjoin upon all Christians the duty of universal forgiveness, forbearance, kindness, non-resistance, and overcoming evil with good. If therefore there is another plain and pertinent sense in which to understand the passage, that accords with the analogy of scripture, we may justly conclude that the apostle did not intend to represent God as approving 'the powers that be' in their use of the sword.

Let us now consider that the civil rulers then upon the throne of state were tyrants, enemies of the gospel, and 'the basest of men.' Still, there was, as we have seen, a scriptural and important sense in which they were God's ministers of vengeance, or instruments by which he chastised, corrected, and tried his people, and punished his enemies. The Assyrian monarch spoken of in Isaiah, tenth chapter, is a remarkable example. Though this prince, and God's other instruments of vengeance, were ministers of evil to his enemies, there is a scriptural and important sense in which they are 'ministers of God for good' to his people. They were so to Job, for though the murderers and robbers stripped him of his servants and substance, God caused these trials to work for his good. They were so to David, who was often scourged with the sword of civil rulers; but he said, in view of these and other divine chastisements, 'Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.' 'Before I was afflicted, I went astray; but now have I kept thy word.' 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes.' 'I know, O Lord, that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me.' Does he employ civil rulers as his scourge to correct his people? They are his ministers to him for good; for, as the apostle says, 'Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' God's design is benevolent, in chastising his people by the instrumentality of 'the powers that be,' and these are his ministers for good to his people, in executing his benevolent purposes towards them, though they mean not so, neither do their hearts think so. This view gives the first clause of the passage a plain and pertinent sense, that accords with the analogy of scripture; and the rest of the passage needs no comment. If 'the powers that be' are God's ministers of vengeance, and instruments of correction, those who do evil may well tremble—for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is a minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.' This implies no more divine approbation of civil rulers, than God exercised towards the cruel and haughty monarch of Assyria. How absurd to suppose that God approves of 'revengers,' who use the sword without his special direction, when Christ has said, 'All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.'—Resist not evil!

Verse 5. 'Therefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.'

Both conscience, and the fear of wrath, as well as the divine precepts, bind you to a complete passive submission and obedience to 'the powers that be.' Verse 6. 'For this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.'

That is, his instruments, agents, or ministers of vengeance, correction, chastisement, &c. who enforce tribute by the sword, and in order to avoid wrath, and keep good conscience, we must, as Christ taught by precept and example, make no forcible resistance; but if they take our coin, let them have our cloak also, rather than to resist by violence.

Verse 7. 'Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor.'

In order to avoid wrath, and keep a good conscience, practise universal honesty and righteousness towards God, and all mankind. 'And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?' I have now gone through with all the passages in the thirteenth chapter of Romans, which relate to the subject in controversy, upon which our opponents so confidently rely; and whether I have correctly paraphrased them or not, I have had no occasion to explain them away, or to add to them, to make them harmonize with each other, or with the analogy of scripture. I now cheerfully submit my view of this chapter to the scrutiny of our opponents, and await their strictures, with a strong desire that they will detect and point out every flaw.

On reviewing Mr. Grew's exposition of this chapter, and my own, I perceive I have not evaded his question.

He says, 'The simple question is, (and I entreat that it may not be evaded), whether or not the inspired apostle teaches that God approves of the civil magistrate punishing evil-doers? That the duty of the powers that be is to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil, appears to be clearly and fully established.'

This conclusion of our friend Grew appears to me altogether unfounded, besides being directly opposed to the Christian law so clearly sustained in the New Testament, 'Avenge not yourselves.' God said of the Assyrian Prince, (Isaiah 10. 12.) 'Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his wrath upon him, and the glory of his high looks.' Just so, the sense in which God employs the powers that be, as ministers of his vengeance and instruments of chastising his people, is not at all inconsistent with their being 'the basest of men,' usurpers of his prerogatives, and worthy of punishment for bearing the sword.

I will briefly notice one more objection, founded upon

Luke 22. 36. 'He that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip; and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one. And they said, Lord, behold here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.'

The objection supposes that the swords were procured as a means of defence against human violence, which Christ knew was about to come upon him. But there are strong reasons to believe this was not so. Two swords would seem quite insufficient for the apostolic band, provided Christ had intended that his servants should fight in defence of their lives or liberties. And besides, when one sword was used for this purpose, Christ said, 'Put up thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword,' and healed the wound that was made. Such a measure does not correspond with a design to overcome enemies with the sword. Christ also said, 'My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence.'

I have now noticed all the leading scriptural objections to Non-Resistance which I have heard, and it does not come within the design of this Bible Argument to consider others. I imagine that some of our confident opponents will find, on more careful inquiry, that their bible argument for human government is not quite so strong as they supposed. The fact is, that the history of human government, sustaining in its sword, presents an almost unbroken chain of tyranny and despotism. The Jeroboams and Neros have been the rule, and the Alfreds the exception. Kings and Princes have usually waded to the throne through blood and carnage; and when they have reached the object of their ambition, they have commonly considered the lives and liberties of the people as their tools of state, and means of sustaining their dominion. That was a very just remark of Gen. Warren, that 'The tools of power in every age have racked their inventions to justify the few, in sporting with the happiness of the many, and having found their sophistry too weak to hold mankind in bondage, have impudently dared to force Religion, the daughter of the king of heaven, to be a prostitute in the service of hell.' How much truth is there in the English proverb—'Only two kinds of men succeed as public characters, men of no principle, but of great talent; and men of no talent, but of one principle, that of obedience to their superiors.' How pertinent was the reply of the mercantile delegate from Bordeaux, to Louis XIV, who inquired of them, what he should do to promote their interests, and received for an answer, 'Sire, let us alone!' Hereditary governments have turned out many blanks to a prize; and the popular will of states, by which elective governments have been organized and sustained, has usually been highly corrupt. The ecclesiastical powers which have assumed government over men's persons and consciences, have commonly been still more corrupt and oppressive. In a word, 'It has been human government, assuming discretionary powers over mankind, and grasping the sword, which has been the fruitful cause and occasion of those dangers and perils against which they pretend to guard their subjects.'

To organize and sustain such governments, therefore, for human protection, seems too much like setting a fox to guard the geese. 'No king saved by the multitude of a host'—the war-horse a vain thing for safety!—the man cursed 'who trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm'—the sword one of God's 'four sore judgments'—and the fundamental policy and measures of human government sustaining itself by the sword, as plainly forbidden by the Christian law as we can conceive; and yet there are many who imagine that these very things are enjoined upon mankind in scripture, as their essential means of protection and happiness!

Now, if a human government, with sword in hand, is in fact the heaven-approved and appointed method of guarding the social relations, and of protecting human rights and interests, we should at least naturally expect, that the elementary principles, powers, and the proper form and true policy of a righteous and desirable human government, would have been very plainly and unequivocally laid down in the scriptures, and that the consequent duties of organizing and maintaining such a government would have occupied a prominent place in the bible.

It is affirmed, however, that the bible was not given us to teach the policy and economy of a human government, but to teach us religion. And what is this, but a tacit admission that such a system of policy and economy, for human safety and protection, is a human device, unauthorized by scripture; since the pages of the bible are so replete with other common and practical precepts, pointing our manifold duties to ourselves, to our children, and to each other, in our social and domestic relations?

If the maintenance of such a government is the divinely appointed and approved means or method of sustaining civil order, social relations, and human happiness, it certainly must involve our most important social duties. I therefore ask, Where in the bible are to be found the directions to man to Christians, and to Christian ministers, to see to it that the right form of human government is adopted—the right principles and policy incorporated into the civil code; and that the best qualified men are elevated to the stations of power, and engaged or selected to accept, and faithfully occupy these stations? Let the advocates of 'the powers that be,' inform us.

When have mankind been the most useful, happy, and prosperous? Precisely when they have chosen God for their only Lawgiver, King and Governor, his law for their only rule of duty, and had the least to do with human government and legislation.

PACIFICUS.

THE NON-RESISTANT. The second number of this important periodical made its appearance on Monday last. The Executive Committee of the Non-Resistance Society have resolved to continue its publication regularly, 'trusting in Him for the means to sustain it, to whom belong the gold and silver, and cattle upon a thousand hills.' It is to be edited by a committee, consisting of Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

THE EARTHQUAKE IN THE WEST INDIES. Letters from Martinique dated Jan. 15th, say that the earthquake which has already been announced as having occurred on the night of Jan. 11th, with such frightful effects, was repeated on the nights of the 12th and 13th and greatly increased the damage. The whole island was injured more or less, and Port Royal more especially. In that city eighty houses were thrown down including the Government House, Hospital, Treasury, Churches, and all other large edifices.

Not a house escaped injury more or less. Six hundred persons were killed. And the rest who were able, had fled to the low grounds. In Guadalupe and St. Lucia great damage had been done. Two schooners had arrived at Martinique from Guadalupe laden with wounded persons, seeking for hospitals; but the inhabitants were compelled to turn them away, as they had more than their hands full of their own wounded.

Mr. Delavan writes home from Europe, that about eight hundred ministers and near two hundred thousand of the people of Wales have joined the total abstinence Society.

A colored boy has been convicted as the incendiary of the fire which nearly destroyed the town at Wythe Court House, dated Jan. 15th, say that the earthquake which has already been announced as having occurred on the night of Jan. 11th, with such frightful effects, was repeated on the nights of the 12th and 13th and greatly increased the damage. The whole island was injured more or less, and Port Royal more especially. In that city eighty houses were thrown down including the Government House, Hospital, Treasury, Churches, and all other large edifices.

FOREIGN.

FRIGHTFUL HURRICANE AT LIVERPOOL!

A frightful gale occurred on the 6th and 7th of January. In the neighborhood of Liverpool, it was tremendous; exceeding in severity any visitation of the kind which had been experienced in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. Immense damage was done to the shipping, as well as on shore, and many lives were lost. Among the vessels driven on shore were three of our noble packets, viz. the Pennsylvania, Capt. Smith; the Oxford, Capt. Robble, and the St. Andrew, Capt. Thompson. Also the British ship Lockwood, with passengers, bound to New York. And what is most to be regretted, is the fact that a large number of persons perished, including Capt. Smith, of the Pennsylvania, and several passengers.

From the Liverpool Courier, Jan. 9.

SEVERE AND DESTRUCTIVE HURRICANE.

On Sunday night, (Jan. 6.) and during the whole of Monday morning, this town and its vicinity were visited by one of the most violent and destructive hurricanes which has occurred within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The effects of this fearful visitation have been felt far and wide, but we have not yet been able to learn to what distance its influence extended. All around our own district the devastation has been fearful; of indifference of buildings, houses, walls, roofs, chimneys, haystacks, fences, and trees, having been destroyed or blown down, reach us from every quarter. In this town, the losses of life and property have been very great, and numbers of persons have been more or less injured. Many vessels have been wrecked, and a number of narrow escapes from death, or fractured limbs. The destruction of the marine, it is feared, will have been exceedingly great on the surrounding coasts, though the intelligence on that subject is not very ample. Many vessels have been sunk in the river, and in the docks, and not less than fifteen are now lying ashore at 2nd Boat Bay.

From two to five o'clock, the gale was tremendous, and it was during those three hours that most of the damage was done. In all quarters, chimney-pots, slates, and lead, were swept away like chaff, flying about over the streets of the town and the adjacent villages, as if offering no more resistance to the wind than so many pieces of pasteboard. The alarm was as universal as the destruction. Thousands of families arose from their beds, and fled to the shelter from the terror inspired by the roaring of the tempest, and the rattling of bricks and fragments of their dwellings. Numbers left their houses, and sought safety in what they conceived were the more secure and better sheltered habitations of their neighbors. The best of mansions in the town, fabric of solid and substantial masonry, trembled and rocked before the assaults of the wind, as if they had been shaken by an earthquake. When the morning broke, the tempest was still sweeping from the westward with all the fury of a tornado. Though the gale had apparently done its worst to the town, having shaken down such buildings as could not resist its force, and swept away a multitude of the more exposed chimneys and chimney-pots, still slates, bricks and fragments, were flying from the tops of the houses in such numbers as to render walking in the streets perilous. From one end of the town to the other, the pavement was strewn with materials, in many places the avenues being obstructed with masses of bricks, ruins, fallen chimneys, &c.

The most afflictive consequences of the hurricane are undoubtedly those, the results of which have been fatal to human life. These have been many in all parts of the town, though the most awful catastrophes occurred in the neighborhood of Great George Square. Several yards of the spire of St. John the Baptist's Church, in Tosteth park, fell about five o'clock. The wall of St. James's Church has been completely levelled, and the trees uprooted so as to expose the columns.

About four o'clock in the morning, upwards of one hundred yards of the wall of Kirkdale Gaol was blown down level with the ground. The wall fell against the weaving shops of the prison, knocking many of them down, breaking the looms, and leaving the pieces to blow about.

In every dock the damage has been enormous, from the vessels pitching violently against each other, and thus staying in their bows and sterns. On the river and in the docks, many vessels were wrecked, and many lives were lost. The most terrible of these was the wreck of the *Edinburgh*, a fine ship, which was driven ashore, and wrecked near the latter place, and another in the Queen's Dock, where many vessels lost their spars. At Cornhill, the Woodside steamer *Riddle* came alongside a total wreck, and the schooner *Harriet*, of Lancaster, ran ashore with considerable damage. A fishing boat swamped near the latter place, and another in the Queen's Dock, where many vessels lost their spars.

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